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within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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S K 608 557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these,

S [647] [666] all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new

G [622] [624] council then proceed to elect two of their number as President and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers